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THE POWER OF STREETS

A Discourse of Power Formation in the Spatial Construction of Urban Streets

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Introduction

Writing about a city and what is happening or is currently happening in it would certainly require assessment on the historicity of the city itself. In this context, the city is placed in a productive space, meaning that the city is not placed only as a space in which the inside and outside becomes a passive entity or a city is just positioned as a person's creation or power order. Exceeding its passive form, city is an active space in which the subject is positioned as an object. At this point the discussion of city will begin. In this case, the city is positioned as a formed entity from which the city is able to form what is in it.

Teritoric Space: A Spatial Discourse of City

Territory, region or territoriality is a fundamental problem for the society to preserve and maintain its life. Territoriality, to Marx (2008), is a part to be achieved and accumulated as a capitalist's capital. In this context, territoriality is part of the reproduction of means of production, which puts the region not only as part of the means of production but exceeding that; territoriality is a natural control for the bourgeoisie. The important location of a territory has a function as a means of production in producing commodities. And, through the region, the distribution of commodities would be disseminated.

  The consequence of this territoriality lies on how a capitalism system finds and controls areas outside its territory. Meanwhile, prior to the formation

of capitalism system, Caesar in his will to control the Minor Asia proclaimed "*Veni, Vidi, Vici*" (Ronan in Zander, 2005: 71-90). which can be translated literally as Come, See, and Conquer. Beyond the utterance made by Caesar, the discourse that can be built is a part of him -Caesar- for projecting or objecting the world. The word "come" signs a form of physical presence. In this case, it is not just a form of self-presence but the power that plays the self-presence; that is, in this context, a militaristic power owned by Caesar.

Meanwhile, the concept of *Vidi* or see shows a distance of subject toward its object; a distance which indicates an existence of a form of sensing limited by the senses of the subject, so it brings up the part which is capable of recognizing and then perceiving the form. At this point, the limited sensing ability changes by bringing up the strengthening of this limitation in form of the reinforcement brought through a military power. And on *Vici* or the concept of conquering, assumes a full control of an object; that is, on the world objected as its own.

The emergence of the concept of property or ownership assumes and forms an authority beyond the owned object. The control and ownership presupposes the existence of power in receiving and retaining a form of ownership of the object. And, in this context, the intended object is its territoriality and spatiality. When a territoriality is controlled and owned, what is inside is a form of means for the accumulation of subject power. This is what can be drawn on what then happened in the battle in the struggle for territory and ultimately culminated in colonialism. Control and ownership of a territoriality is a form of power in maintaining the form of power. This means that the power will lead to the control of anything outside. Power delivers to the fight and struggle for a territoriality outside what has been controlled.

The power exists when it can bring certainty to the subject-object relation. Then, how does this certainty appear and how does this power come from it? At this point, human being as an entity that has a sense is in a direct contact with nature. Sense that is in the sensing organizes and recognizes as well as categorizes the nature. The arrangement is later at a stage of perception, when the social one began to exist and recognized as a part of a referent in recognizing the nature. At this point, sense and perception are in spatiality without the certainty of it. The assurance that comes up from it will arise when

it acquires the category of nature. It is a form of category which ensures and draws all uncertainty in the certainty space of knowledge that exceeds sense perception (Hegel, 1997; Kojeve, 1969).

To bring a certainty requires the existence of space; that is, a space that ensures that the power operates in shaping knowledge. The world was created through the emerging certainty and categories. This space was later placed by Marx in form of material in the form of production space. And from this production space, the space for reproduction of production needs is expected. Therefore, space is built and accumulated where the breadth and coverage is based on and through the mastery of the territory and space.

Through this Marxian argument, fights and battles in expanding the territoriality found its theoretical bases. Then, what happened in subjects that were objected as objects, as labor in a capitalistic relation? Marx put them in alienation of distance between the natural forms had been transformed into commodities and value attached to formed commodities. The formed world created the Being of labor in alienation (Marx and Engels, 1998).

In the era together with Marx, it was formed an era defined as modernity where production centers formed industrial circumstance and presented urban atmosphere (Marshall, 1982). Baudrelaire interprets "*Modernity is that which is ephemeral, fugitive, contingent upon the occasaion; it is half art, whose other half is the eternal and unchangeable*" (Baudrelaire, 1965). Modernity forms the subject individualized in space and time; that is, individuality which is in itself and deprived from the traditional rituality, which then presents itself in a room that moves quickly, contingently leaving no space for subjects to perceive all present with them (Prasetyo, 2011).

Alienation as an unconsciousness of the modernity atmosphere is inherent in the immutability. What was formed in modernity could not be released by the European tradition that grew and was formed through the differentiation between rural and urban atmosphere (Spybey, 2009) when urban areas and industrialization developed in Europe. Coloniality became an option to assume that the world was centered in Europe and what was outside of Europe as an uncivilized.

Assuming the supremacy of European nation, the form of civilization and cultural roots outside of Europe were in a destruction room, including what

happened in the East Indies, that later called itself as Indonesia. The never-ending spatial landscape became the battle for supremacy of European nation, ranging from the Netherlands, France, Spain and the UK which had ever placed their spatial traces.

Discontinuity Without the Center: Imaginary Fabric in the Urban Symbolization

The formation of coloniality as residue of spatial battle formed the materiality order for positioning the subjects inside, positioning for the formation of the objectivity of the production relation. In the form of European coloniality, the mentioning of the believed traditions was based on scientific knowledge and modern aesthetic forms presenting its material form such as the constructions of buildings, transportation facilities, factories, ports and everything associated with the creation of production facilities for Europeans.

Spatial layout was presented here. The life order was created from it, a form of a small world for all European matters. What was formed was not only to show the European supremacy, but at the same time the supremacy would negate what was available in the colony. System of ideas relating to the way of life directly faced the supremacy of Europe. When Galileo's revolution put an end to the dogmatism of the earth as the center of the world, which was precisely through the supremacy of the European Human, everything was centered on the knowledge of Europe.

The world and the practice therein were objected through coloniality. Even for a form of local life, its existence was sustained by this coloniality. Imagine that the history of the Indonesian kingdoms that had to deal directly with their coloniality and specifically assumed their existence with the forced submission to the colony. Even if the resistance emerged, it uncommonly experienced a defeat and finally got back to leave a room for the submission.

Ujung Galuh or that later turned into Surabaya is a witness for the formation of European discursive space and becomes the defense as well as the space for the local fight against colonialism from Majapahit, Mataram to Pajang (Raffles, 2008; Toer, 2006). This local fight left the big question: should the conquering obtained use the help of the Dutch? Then, what

were the consequences that later emerged as the Indonesian kingdoms fight, one of them, by providing space in which the Europe was in their power?

Europeans first set traces their traces when Mataram was ruling; that is, when Mataram was being confronted with the fulfillment of its destiny to control the Indonesian archipelago. The fulfillment of destiny that did not only suppress the Mataram's desire to become the only ruler, but at the same time placed Mataram at the point of recognition of a power outside itself; that is, kingdom in the region of Palembang. At this crucial point of Mataram, the Europeans came to offer assistance by requesting autonomous rights for themselves (Raffles, 2008). Armed with a military force, knowledge and modern weaponry cannons the Europeans could get their desires.

A new round of the Indonesian history began from this. The Europeans presented their civilization materiality that started with building a fort for the strengthening and affirmation of their presence, then arming and presenting themselves with the accumulation of power imported from Europe. By looking at the conditions, the battles to establish territoriality and supremacy happened. The battles brought about defeats and ended in recognition of the supremacy of European nations. Mataram as the kingdom which wanted to be a single authority delivered its false power because it was sustained by power outside itself; the power that only showed the weak power possessed by Mataram. Europeans seemed to be the host for the kingdom of Mataram when facing the problems of the struggle and recognition of its territory, including when Mataram wanted of the submission of *Adipati* (Regent of) Surabaya (Ibid).

Along with the fading of full power of Mataram in Javanese region, the Europeans, especially Dutch, increasingly positioned themselves as outsiders in the area of Java, the outsiders and controlled over Java. The Javanese kings in submission of the European power were just to maintain their royal status as the kings. Meanwhile, in other part of Europe at the end of the 18th century, a struggle for territoriality had occurred. By the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte in France, the Netherlands became the part of the subject within the power of Napoleon. At the same time, the territory of East Indies controlled by the Dutch turned to France (carpentier, 2011). In this era, Governor General Daendles was sent as the ruler of the East Indies (Toer, 2006).

Daendles' short era of power between the years 1808-1811 was not in meaning of that the inheritance in his era did not need to be marked. Precisely Daendles' era left a lot of interesting things to consider. Especially when Daendles was ruling, there was road construction, widening and arrangement of Anyer-Panarukan. It was a 1000 km-long road that stretched from west to east, the north island of Java, namely the so-called Post road or Daendles road: roads equivalent to those between Amsterdam and Paris (Ibid).

The construction of this road began when Daendles was in a trip in Javanese island which was then considered too time-consuming because of the length of the journey that had to be taken. The building of Post Road became the initial node of the stretched road and the start of acceleration on the basis of European centric. On the other hand, this development led to the massacre of indigenous people and the helplessness of local authorities when confronted with the will of European nations. In this context, Pramoedya writes "Indonesia is a land of slaves. Slaves among nations and slaves for other nations" (Ibid). A phrase that represents how the nation state was engaged in its historical consciousness where territorial fights were associated with war, subjugation, and status placement in the formation of supremacy and inferiority when facing with the European matters.

The idea of the French Revolution *Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite* (Ibid) that was believed by Daendles, evaporated in the control it had. Meanwhile, what was done by Daendles was is a form of presenting Europe and the strengthening of the European centric. The choice of the northern coastal strip was associated with the acceleration of commodities delivery to the economic centers in Europe. Road construction was also accompanied by the construction of fortifications to defend the supremacy of French before English, Portuguese and Spanish that had controlled over the other parts of the East Indies.

The Development of port cities happened in the control of Daendles. Surabaya became an important city reinforced by Daendles since it had a port that could accommodate small or large ships to sail to all corners of the archipelago. In addition, the city of Surabaya could become a military defense base. By the strategic location of the Surabaya city, Daendles began to build defenses, forts, warehouses for storage of commodities and weapons factories (Thorn, 2011).

Daendles initiated the formation of Europe-imaged modern cities. The setting of Javanese cities based on Anthropomorphism[1] was arranged for the acceleration of production and reproduction of production conditions. Mataraman urban design with the four room division[2] turned into a city of production and military base centered on European design. The centering of Mataraman cities that were in the reign of King turned into a centering brought by civilization outside itself; that is, European civilization.

Meanwhile, the design of a city torn from the natural harmony by centering on the King, Europeans, particularly the Netherlands came to the East Indies on a large scale. Their arrival was due to the events of the opening of the Suez Canal in 1867 (Ibid) which affected the ease and speed in distributing commodities from the East Indies to European countries and then caused an increase in demand for commodities. The high demand for commodities led to the opening of private estates in the East Indies and ultimately caused the increase in the arrival of Europeans.

The arrival of Europeans required the colonial government to build housing for the newcomers. Regional housing and spatial planning in the Surabaya city were present in the centralized split based on Ethnicity and the conditions of Political Economy. The city was divided by the villages in accordance with the Ethnicity of the newcomers the establishment of Arab village and Chinese village, which was in Dutch fort (Santoso, 2006). In a smaller scope, Thomas Karten, a Ducth architect, changed the spaces of cultural practices and the design of Javanese houses (Abidin, 2007). Henry Maclaine-Pont in 1920 continued the construction of the Surabaya city in

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[1] Anthromophism is a manifestation of human consciousness of the existence of cosmological relationships that will be presented in human life. It is an consciousness of the existence of the city as representation of the universe and about to be unified with the cosmological forces of the nature. By creating the city based on the life and the human body, humans put themselves and the established city in cosmological relations.

[2] Four discussed spaces are: the first space as the space of the King which was the heart of the city and state. In this first room, the King was in the palace and surrounded or the palace was occupied by the king within the core circle of family. As for the problems of administration and the state, in the space occupied by the king did Parentah jero (internal instructions) also occupy. The second space is called as a State. In the second space did the State officials and the scope of kingdom profane live that had important roles for the empire economically, politically, and militarily. Administratively, Parentah jero was associated with Parentah Jaba (outer instructions) that was available in the second space. The third circle is called Great State Territory which was a State's territory or kingdom under the control of mahapatih (Prime Minister). In each of the controlled territorials, mahapatih divided it into a surveillances of patih (territorial military commander) and directly responsible to the mahapatih. Patih had the right to manage his territory and collect taxes that were deposited to the king. The last territory was referred to as Manca Negara (Global State). This territory was located in the royal power and directly bordered to the State outside his control, so that it tended to experience a change in territorial control. This territory was headed by a regent appointed by the king, while those related to tax issues and surveillance were the responsibility of Mahapatih

line with what had been pioneered by Daendles. Pont built housing for employees and workers of the East Indies as the growing population of newcomers in Surabaya.

Seeing what happened, the discourse created from the Europeans put the Javanese people, in particular, and the colony nations, in general, in the space of inferiority where the nodes or cultural representation centers were destroyed and arranged to be based European centric. Cultural practices space from the city up to the house designs had been transformed into the European style. By the building of the fortress and residential buildings, offices and centers of European culture, it was formed an inferiority within regional formations; that is, the discourse space of *debouwde* with its European composition against his *inlandse gemeenten* confronted with the natives inferiority.

By the building of cities and roads connecting one city with another, between one region and another, between one spatiality and another, leaving spaces for power/knowledge motion that were not only on the subjects and materiality formed. The street became a space for presenting subjectivity. In this context is the so-called Power of Streets defined. The power of streets was formed from the streets and was centered in the mass movement. At its points, the power of street created an explosion of resistance to the authority that operated and created categorization of life practice. Categorization in what it could and what was forbidden, what worked and what was not useful. This categorization appeared in the mass space and mass movement. In this context, the revolution of independence as part of an explosion in the power of streets was a revolution for the placement of the mass subjectivity in the spatial categorization and creation of conditions of inferiority.

Meanwhile, the post-independence state, urban warfare of November 10 on the streets in Surabaya was a form of spatiality formed by concentration of power in rejecting the representation of European categorization. The explosion of power in the mass particularity was collected sporadically hitting the return of categorization space brought represented by the European matters; a power of street against the totality of power in the formation of European universality.

Contingency in Human Historical Recurrence

In the Era of Independence, the streets in Indonesian cities offered different forms in each era of the supported power. Soekarno established himself more as a milestone in trying to put as a distinctive and capable nation when faced with the European matters. In the Sukarno's Era were buildings, monuments and modern city settings built by relying on the power of the nation's image. And, the politicization of the street was practiced as a space for him to get closer to the mass of supporters of his ideas.

Politicization of the masses by putting mass closer to the ruler turned when Soeharto came to hold the power. Politics and surveillance of the masses were no longer imagined in opposition of the power toward European strengths as the subordinated nation was focused on the figures of rulers and the rulers were in submission toward the world outside himself (Prasetyo in Falk, n.y: 53-60). In this case, the mass was formed in layered supervised submission, from the family residence to the State (www.communication-geography.org/abstracts/lim.pdf). The Mass was kept away from political activities and the streets were controlled by placing the terrors inside. Forms of terrors in the formation of mass power were indicated by the events of "Matius" and how to control the state apparatus (Abidin, 2007).

Meanwhile, the design of building that wanted to show the ability of a nation initiated in the Soekarno's era, on the other hand showed similarities with models of buildings that formed in America (Kentgens-Craig, 1999). Models of skyscraper buildings as a representation of ability of a nation in facing the forces that operates outside itself. Model of building and economic development which was immediately adopted by Soeharto economically followed the termed development model (Robinson, 2009) and in terms of city planning, followed the spatial distribution models (Jennks, 1997).

The existing design left two appearances (Domer, 2008), surface appearance was a dimension that could be perceived by subjects with its shallowness; that is, the shallowness associated with the enjoyment of the designed commodity. And inner design dimension which was a space for designers to show the complexity of the commodity arrangement in the viewable outer design. The building design saved itself with two dimensions moving the

architecture in form of spatiality and bringing the formation of the subject consciousness (Le Corbusier, 1986).

In a design, a subject consciousness of a design will position itself in a social spatiality; the social space that requires the presence of obedient subjects in the social body (Foucoult, 2007). Meanwhile, the social body formed is a form of social body which is moved in an individualized and shallow form in perceiving and shaping the world.

The shallowness accumulated in the post-collapse of Suharto in which the subject in social spaces obtained a spatiality to display its subjectivity; that is, obtaining spatiality for the power explosion. On the other hand, the power of the subjects could present in similar shape when exposed to the Soeharto's appearance. While, on the other hand, when subjects were confronted with the absence of form for presenting power, subjects were running around in individual bursts. The subjects made themselves as controls of themselves by placing the social matters as referents for the fulfillment of his will. Superficiality in the form of individualized satisfaction is a daily form occurred in cities and on the streets; this superficiality is intersection to the fulfillment of subjectivity.

The emergence of unconsciousness of the social space, the appearance of evil practices, all lead to the individualized fulfillment. This individualized satisfaction is only from the inner part and through the subject of reality created for it. At the same time, the comodification of urban spaces looks lined without leaving space for the subject to digest it. Urban spaces and streets that connect between spatiality turned into commodities display. The advertisements that offer fulfillment of the will of the subjects come to call the power of the subjects.

The spatiality arranged functionally no longer forms a city with a category of functionality but becomes the temporality in subjectivity satisfaction. In the formed overall, subjects shallowly perceive the world, have a shallow consciousness and only focused on self-satisfaction. Meanwhile, the unconsciousness of the subject power was muted to instrumental consciousness fulfillment, the consciousness self-centered on the subjects in the form of a reification order (Lukas, 1990; Honneth, 2008).

When the urban design displays functionality in the arrangement of work spaces division and social spaces surrounding it, the streets are present as spaces of subject consciousness. Consciousness space of a form of its

functionality, of how the subjects function socially, while the social functionality is referred to materiality created in the form of production order. From formed conditions, the streets no longer display the space in power circle velocity and power counter (Foucault, 1977). The streets no longer show the social spaces for the subjects. The streets become spaces for the cross of instrumental consciousness, self-consciousness of the subjects and the fulfillment of their subjectivity.

The city is laid out through spatiality. And among the spatiality is the street presented, from street is the pedestrian or sidewalk displayed. The formed relationships from it then bring about the forms of mechanization of nature through commodities. The production machines present commodity, create motors, cars and other transportation facilities. What is to be achieved by the subjects by the creation of this transportation? The acceleration of itself in presenting its subjectivity satisfaction is a form of the created relation. Through the acceleration of subjectivity satisfaction, the consequences presented from the comodification of itself in fulfilling its will; that is, the will which was formed through the instrumental consciousness.

The surveillance model of the subject practice is subjected to the power relation that lives it. Power relations that organize and discipline the subjects through the crossing of the subject will in satisfying its instrumental consciousness. The surveillance is present in full presence of spatiality, surveillance that historically appears with fear and was presented by the power which operates; fear of all evil practices, death and loss of the subject.

The surveillance is present in the architectural building and the consciousness created in spatiality (Foucault, 1991). The meaning is the surveillance on the subject discipline in the created power relations. In urban design, surveillance does not play on a solid architectural setting as conceived by Foucault in prison. The surveillance actually plays in the leveling of surveillance against the subject practice and the historicity inherent in subject consciousness in form of traumatic historicity and subject will in the subjectivity fulfillment.

In the fulfillment of subjectivity, the subject wishes to present himself as the subject moved in the arranged categories of power and, at the same time, blows up its will in subject individuality spaces. A form of explosion for the subject will in the arranged categories of power without being able to change

or form a counter power; it is apparent from the patches and streaks of advertisement papers found throughout the urban buildings. And then, the movement of human historicity in the formation of its subjectivity is present in the repetition of the surface dimension. It is found in the practices of power that show its supremacy in shaping the categories on the social matters. Meanwhile, those of social matters are faced with the natural formed into the cultural in a commodity; at this point, the social then establishes itself in the commodity itself.

Conclusion

Urban design and all the spatiality of the city formed either in form of building or street that runs between the spatiality presents a practice for the subjects in the form of subjectivity fulfillment. It is formed within the instrumental consciousness; that is, the consciousness which in practice tries to fulfill the subject will to be present in the created spatiality. In the formed space, the subject is driven by a passion to fulfill themselves and, at the same time, the self-fulfillment is formed in the objectivity that is able to repress the subjects to be arranged in categories of power.

In the relationship built up in the city, where the production strength of the social matters becomes an integral part; the city and entire existing entities are formed and represent the productive condition. The conditions that work socially and massively move in a conscious subject in which the subjects place themselves, present their subjectivity as those centered on themselves or individualized; it is much more precise in this condition that the subjects in their spatiality and power are the formation of the social and, at the same time, the formation of the social changes and streams counter power in the arranged individuality in a social production force.

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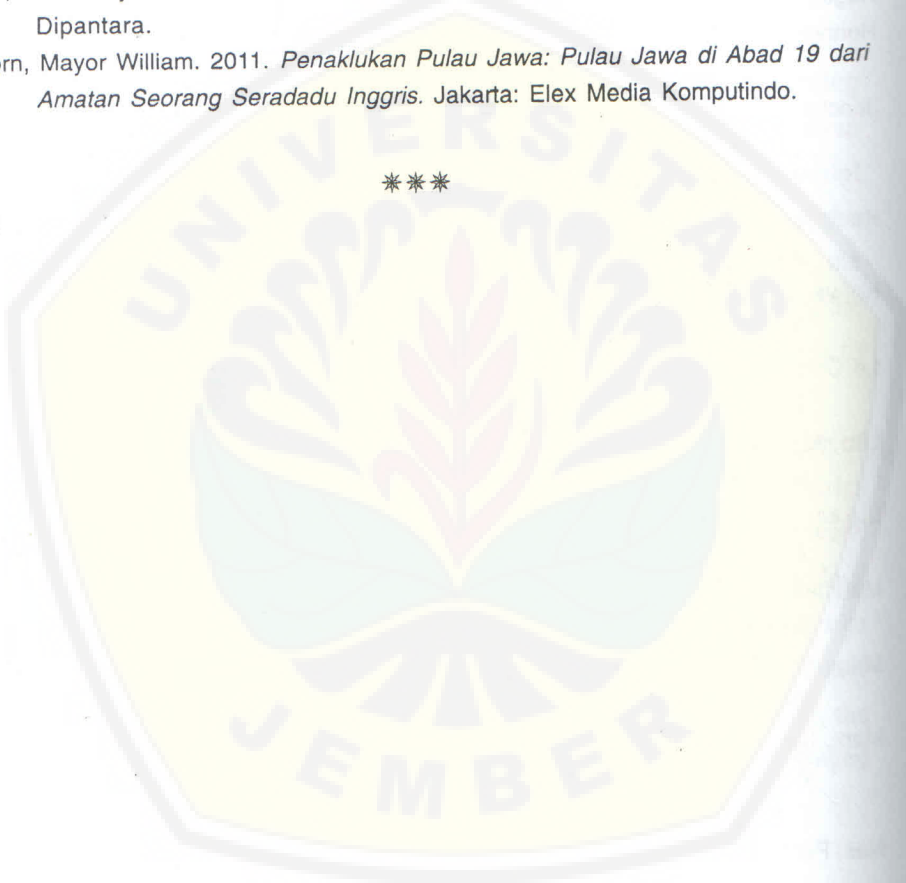
The urbanization and the urbanism processes have driven people to consider urban cultures and societies as the primary locus point of reference in their daily lives, wherever they live. The developments of the transportation system and the information technology, the innovation of sciences, the rise of the urban middle classes, and also the freedom of media and expression in arts and literature have created different definitions about the urban cultures and societies. There has been a fast development and transformation of the urban areas and to a greater extent, have greatly influenced the Indonesian people in most aspects of their lives, and in particular, their sense of self and environment.

Arising from these developments and changes in urbanization culture are critical questions such as: who they are, what they do, what they like and what they plan in building their environment, how is their mobility going on, how they deal with their counterparts on the other parts of the globe, what are their cultural and other social products? These questions serve as guide to papers seminar entitled: Indonesian Urban Cultures and Society. The papers in the third International Graduate Student Conference (IGSC) concern the diverse faces of urban Indonesia and view them from equally diverse theoretical and disciplinary perspectives. They make important contributions to the study of urban Indonesia. They also highlight the accomplishments and promise of a new generation of scholars for whom the idea of Urban Indonesia is a given rather than a novel or emerging reality.

This proceeding of the third IGSC (International Graduate Student Conference) presented more than forty papers talking about urban religion, education, media, identity, industry, technology, and living style; Islamic movement and leader function; urban identity, food vendors, urban energy, democratic society, are among the interesting topics discussed in the conference. The presenters came from more than six countries (US, Australia, United Kingdom, China, South Korea, Malaysia, Indonesia). The papers presented a portray part of Indonesian urban living style and dynamic, which are valuable for understanding Indonesian urban culture and society.

The such conference is very useful as a sharing academic thinking and experiences. It provided a positive communications among speakers and audiences for extracting best practices from various center of excellent in urban disciplines. It gave a challenge for mediation and cooperation among all participants for continuing together their academic works, researches, and community services in similar interest and objectives. It also probably provided an unforgettable moment.